7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

terial means, which is still used a great deal—shouting from one section of the village to another. The horse and the donkey have given way to the automobile, the bus, the truck, and the paved roads which they require. Two automobiles are stationed in the village, and a number of them are owned by villagers who live in the city. Those in the village are at least fifteen years old. One of the owners operates a regular (about three times a day) taxi service to Jbayl. The Beirut-Tripoli buses regularly stop at Ḥilwi, but the railroad trains never do. No one in the village owns a truck, but it is not difficult to hire one from Jbayl if necessary.

In terms of message communication, there are two new elements in the village. One is the public telephone at Ḥilwi. This does not seem to play a very important part in the life of the community. It is simply one apparatus in the network of telephones which the French Mandatory Government installed along the main highways. The other is the radio. There is one at Ḥilwi and one in the village proper, both in private houses. A third, portable one was purchased during the period of study. There would doubtless be more if it were not necessary to run them on batteries. However, the villagers keep up to date on the news very efficiently. Every day several people go to and return from Jbayl in whose shops radios blare away constantly.

In the field of communication, foreign influence has been of profound importance.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

SUBSISTENCE

RESIDENCE PATTERNS

TURNING again to Table 1, it will be observed that the people of the village are classified not only according to lineage and household but also according to residence, of which five types are distinguished and briefly defined on the table itself. This section will deal with all of them except the emigrant group, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Unquestionably, the outstanding demographic fact about al-Munṣif today is the large proportion of its citizens who are absent from it most of the year, living and working in Beirut or Tripoli. This trend was preceded by that of mass emigration, but the active phase of the latter is now largely over, owing to the restrictive immigration quotas put into effect by several countries since 1920. Table 1 indicates the way in which each household is affected by the trend to the city. It will be observed that of the 87 households: 22 are wholly resident; 16 are wholly summer; 8 have heads who commute while the main body of the household is resident; 41 are split. Of the 41 split households: 39 have the head and others resident; 2 have the head and others in summer only.

From this and the population totals, it is clear that in terms of numbers, residence in the village all year around is still the predominant pattern. Of the total personnel only 18 per cent of the households are "summerers" (the villagers sometimes refer to them as *ṣayfiyyi*) only. The urban trend is, nevertheless, far more marked than it was in Bishmizzîin about 1939 when 13.5 per cent of the total population held jobs or went to school away from the village nine months of the year (Tannous, 1942, p. 67). Tannous refers to this as "temporary emigration," and says that it is a "unique phenomenon which has recently occurred in the village" due to the development of modern means of transportation. Février (1950, p. 277) says that in Ras al-Matn, a large village north and inland from Beirut, many are absent during the winter. Fisher (in a personal communication) remarks that low-altitude villages around Juni appeared to be largely deserted in wintertime in 1951. Thoumin (1936, p. 189) says that in general automobilism has increased the circulation of the population, especially in the direction of the city. We can safely say that urbanism has been an increasing tendency since the 1920's, but we cannot say how the situation in Munsif compares to that in other villages.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

621 369 who worked in the city over where they would send their children to school, back in the village or in the city.

Another young adult was completely explicit in his expression of preference for the material and mechanical conveniences of city life which are not available 461 in the village. The scorn for manual labor on the part of Western-educated Arabs 556 has been noted by other students, and is clearly in evidence. In Beirut, for example, 302 Arabs of the most modest means employ a housemaid if they possibly can. This "effendi-complex" is symbolized by many men by a practice whose resemblance in both form and meaning to a proverbial Chinese one is really quite striking—the nails of the little fingers are allowed to grow conspicuously long. This practice is not followed by everyone, but it is very common.

NATIONALISM AND XENOPHOBIA

186 The rise of nationalism in the Middle East, especially since 1918, is a much written upon topic, full details of which cannot and need not be given here. But we are concerned with the way in which the rise of nationalism has affected the Lebanese village in general, Munṣif in particular. Tannous sums the matter up in the following words:

> Perh. ps the most potent factor for change in the village at present is its politico-national awakening. This factor carries with it great possibilities for rural development, as well as grave dangers for its way of life. *National consciousness at present permeates rural life in Lebanon* [our italics]. At the same time, practically every village community has been actively reached by one or more of several political ideologies. *Rural people have begun to identify themselves with greater national and international entities* [our italics]. (Tannous, 1949, p. 162.)

The penetration of nationalistic sentiments into villages such as Munṣif would, of course, have been impossible without modern techniques of communication, particularly the press and radio. Rapid surface transportation also has drastically [494] reduced the number and extent of isolated communities. And nationalism itself is a consequence of, and a reaction to, the culture contact situation. (Cf. Schorger, 1952a, p. 31.)

As has been pointed out, the public school curriculum includes regular exhortations in the interests of patriotism, national pride and unity. Small national flags are frequently seen displayed in such unconventional places as automobiles and buses. The national emblem (a cedar tree with triangular foliage and a thick, short trunk) is often seen, in Munṣif and elsewhere, scrawled on walls. It is by no means true, however, that national loyalty has replaced local loyalties in the manner, for example, of modern Japanese villages (cf. Embree, 1939, p. 302). In terms of the in-group analysis in this chapter, the nation has become, for the individual villager, the fifth in the series of in-groups which engage his feelings of loyalty and identification.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

THE PRESENT

George Haddad has recently summarized in some detail the changes which have occurred in Lebanon (and Syria) in the past half century. His emphasis is on material and institutional changes: "Syria and Lebanon have known a real revolution in transport in the last 30 years with the appearance of automobiles (3 in 1914, about 12,000 in 1945). . . . In less than half a century, the urban centers of Syria and Lebanon have changed from medieval towns to modern cities." (Haddad, 1950, pp. 140, 146.)

It is unfortunate that Haddad does not deal at all with the problems, psychological and otherwise, which these revolutionary changes have created. Implicitly, however, he recognizes that change has not directly affected all aspects of life in equal measure: "The traits for which the Syrian Arab and the oriental in general has been known: sense of honor, strict morals, manliness, courage, loyalty, hospitality, reverence of old age, strength of family ties, have not changed much" (*ibid.*, pp. 186–87.) Gibb has phrased the matter somewhat differently: "But in the Near East the changes have not been homogeneous; they have often followed from a violent breach in the continuity of economic and intellectual life and the interference of an external system; they have seldom and only exceptionally embraced even a majority of the population; *and therefore old and new have frequently gone on existing, and still go on existing side by side* [our italics]." (Gibb, 1942a, p. 35.) Let us see how these generalizations can be applied to Munṣif.

MATERIAL CHANGES

As we observed, Westernization in clothes has been very noticeable, though not complete. In this respect, Munṣif appears to be more acculturated than the Egyptian community partially reported upon recently by Lichtenstadter (1952, p. 382), in which the people wear traditional clothes in the village and at all times except when in a wholly acculturative situation such as, for example, working in a modern office. Those Munṣifiin who have adopted Western clothes wear them at all times. In the younger people who are city workers, there is even a tendency to look down on those who wear all or part of the traditional costume because of its connotation of peasant status. But their tendency to reject *both* traditional and European headgear, also noted in Palestine by Patai (1947, p. 22), can be taken as a symbol of the culture conflict which they are undergoing. Also very noticeable is the Westernization of household and personal equipment—furniture, cooking utensils, wristwatches, flashlights, and so on.

These types of material acculturation seem to have taken place under the following conditions:

1. The change does not involve excessive expense.
2. The change is clearly conducive to greater comfort and convenience.

9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Physical Description of Area.

361 The coastal plain in the Kasmie area is bounded by the Mediterranean Sea on the west and
132 the Lebanon range on the east. The climate is Mediterranean with dry summers, nearly all of the
134 rain falling between October and May. The soil is chiefly a heavy clay. Much of this coastal area
941 is suitable for irrigation. While some of the land is rocky and in the United States would not be used for farm land, nearly all land capable of cultivation has been brought under the plow. The steeper slopes are protected from serious erosion by rock wall terraces. The climate is favorable to the growth of temperate and sub-tropical crops. Citrus fruits, bananas, vegetables, and cereal crops are found in abundance.

361 The major markets for the products of the five villages are Beirut and Saida. All of the project
491 and control villagrs are linked to the Tyre-Saida-Beirut main coastal road by gravel surfaced roads
487 except for Loubya and Saksakiyah, which are dependent upon trails. In no case is the dei'ah more
494 than two miles from the main road. The traffic on this road is heavy and trucks and buses are frequently available for taking products to Saida or Beirut. These towns are 12 and 42 miles respectively distant from 'Adloun, the most southerly village.

Village Government.

622 The five villages included in the Kasmie Rural Improvement Project have a similar form of
623 local government. Each village has a mukhtar (mayor) who is elected in a more-or-less democratic
471 manner. In each village there is also a board of aldermen or village elders. This board is also
556 elected to office and it consists of from two to six members. The mukhtar is generally the largest landowner or operator and one of the wealthiest men in the village. The aldermen as well are among the more well-to-do villagers. However, the concept of wealth is relative. Often the holdings owned by local villagers may be large in comparison with others in their own community, but small indeed when compared to the size of holdings in the village controlled by persons living outside the village. The common fellah does not enjoy representation by his peers in this area whether he has such aspirations is not known.